1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

In formerdays, dandies were said to prepare for the drinking by reddening the soles of their feet so that when they fell over drunk "the pretty color would show." Some women remained in the otherwise deserted houses, and young girls and babies were kept on the housetops, out of harm's way.

We children would stay there all day and all night [reported one informant], "and when the drinking was over, some child would come from a neighbor's house and tell us: 'Your father and your mother are asleep out there in the arroyo. Go sit by them until they wake, so that their clothes will not be stolen.' "(26)

But the liquor had no very high alcoholic content. So much of it must be drunk before there is any intoxication that its most usual effect is to make the drinker vomit. This is recognized as a ceremonial feature, and people say with pleasure, pointing out a man so affected: "Look, he is throwing up clouds." The regular procedure during the twenty-four hours of the feast is to drink, vomit, sleep, and drink again, until the result is a thorough purging. The writer, after attending many festivals, has never seen any acts of violence, though it is reported that violence does sometimes occur. It is usual to see a group gathered at one house, singing, while the only drinking cup is passed slowly around, one person drinking at a time. This is the occasion above all others for learning songs, and informants are often recommended with the words, "He will know songs; he goes to all the drinking festivals." [11]

[11] The rainmaking ceremony is still held in the northern part of the reservation in the villages belonging to the Archie group and at Anegam. Since in the last few years more leniency is being shown by the Indian Office toward Indian festivals, this ceremony is being revived in other districts.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

mony the notched stick must not be scraped with another stick, but with the foreleg of the deer.

Dancers were two boys and two girls (representing the children once sacrificed at this village to prevent a flood). Their bodies were painted red, with white spots to represent corn. Some informants said the faces were half yellow and half white as the representatives of these children were painted at the prayer-stick festival. Boys carried an arrow over the right shoulder, girls an ear of corn in each hand.

The few songs obtained deal with the dance itself.

13. The feast, the feast!
It begins and goes forward.(27)

14. What man is it
Stooping here? [over dead deer]
Oh, it is hawk meeter man
Here stooping.(12)

What man is it
Who has killed the deer?
Oh, it is the wind man; the deer he has killed!
Yonder he struggles to carry it on his head.(27)

15. Do you see, yonder coming toward us
The tail of the black deer?(27)

Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing, walking yonder on the mountains
It nearly fell!(12)

At Pisinimo in the south the *maam* sib is very important, and various features of the ceremony hinge on the contrast of *maam* and *ápap* or, perhaps, since the other clans are never mentioned, of their respective moieties, Buzzard and Coyote.

Here no speeches were remembered for the announcement or for butchering the deer. It was killed with arrows in the usual way but a *maam* man must bring home the meat and an *ápap* the tail. Before the feast, the village elders brought the ceremonial basket from its hiding place in the desert and placed it to the east of the

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

dance ground, but not near enough to be seen or touched, that its power might not be injured. In a line between the basket and the council house they placed, first a tuft of eagle down, then the branch of cholla which had been waved over the deer meat, and finally an ironwood stake which was to be pounded into the ground, thus crushing down sickness and misfortune.(1)

Before the ceremony began, two shamans, one from each moiety, took stone axes and pounded the ironwood stake until it was invisible. Then they collected evil with the cholla branch and burned it.

There were two boy dancers and two girls from each moiety, chosen from all the country around for their long hair. They were painted in the council house by two men, one from each moiety. All had their bodies covered with dots to represent corn kernels, but the Buzzards had red bodies with white dots, since "the buzzards have red flesh and hearts," while the Coyotes had white bodies with red dots. On the crown of the head they had an eagle feather: a down feather for the girls, wing feather for boys.

The dance was held at night. After sunset the dancers emerged from the ceremonial house in single file, boys and girls alternating, with a *maam* boy leading. As they emerged, all the *maam* dancers turned to the south, the *dapap* to the north. They arranged themselves in one long line running north and south.

The singers started a song, and when it was nearly ended the *maam* dancer at the south started it again. When he had nearly finished, the *dapap* at the north took it up and finished. Then a new song was started, and the dancing began.

Each song was sung four times: twice while the dancers stepped sidewise, twice while they flexed their knees in position. Toward morning the songs changed, and the dancers began to circle counterclockwise. With the dawn song the dancers suddenly ran about a hundred feet to the east. There they danced during the singing of three songs, and after the last song they ran back into the council house.

Most of the songs are ancient ones, relating to the origin myth, the local version of which was once recited at the ceremony, but is now forgotten.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

When the dance was over, the elders gathered up the deer bones, the deer tail, and the scraping sticks. They passed the deer tail around the ceremonial basket, which was then taken to its hiding place in the desert. The deer bones and the scraping sticks were laid beside it. The eagle down which the dancers had worn on their heads was also put inside the basket.(1)

At the Mexican village (of Quitovaca) the dance is still performed every August, ten days before the prayer-stick ceremony. There are no speeches, and the deer is not strangled; but there is an elaborate dance with meat hung on a pole, after the manner of the Tarahumara, farther south.[18]

The dance takes place in the daytime, the dancers being twenty girls and twenty boys, with no clan restrictions. The boys' bodies are painted with horizontal lines in white, and the girls' with white splashes. The girls and unmarried men carry nothing in their hands, while the married men have feathered arrows, with which to "beckon the clouds." The line faces east, with married men at the south end, single at the north. The movements are like those at Pisinimo. To the east of the dancers is a pole on which the deer meat is tied in sacks, and when the dancers circle, it is around this pole. Only a few scattered songs were obtained.

30. The emergents, our kinsmen,
The emergents, our kinsmen,
The emergents, our kinsmen,
They have just come forth!(20)Ed.7.

31. The *maam* clan,
The *maam* clan
Here came forth;
From this reddish earth
Came forth.(20)

32. Am I not the cleansing dance?
Am I not the cleansing dance?
This land is covered with green.(20)

33. The wind blows;
Widely it seems to spread.

[18] Bennett and Zingg, p. 278.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

There were only a few such singers in the country, and the challenging village might have to send for one from some distance. He worked without pay, other than his food and the fame he received. He selected a number of boys and girls who had agile bodies and the great desideratum, long glossy hair. These he trained in the dance maneuvers, and meantime, the older men learned his songs and made the effigies under his direction. Often he required elaborate representations, which might take months to produce. Reports mention cranes made of raw cotton or smaller birds of painted wood mounted on sticks which could be waved as though the birds were flying. Sometimes there were rainbows of painted buckskin, cloud symbols of cotton, and flowers of wood or vegetable matter. The men of the village met frequently to sing songs which would give their side good luck in running. Toward the end of the practice time they sang every night. One or more shamans sat with them to "see" whether their opponents were working any evil spells and also to work spells on their own behalf.

Ten days before the final event a bundle of sticks was sent by messenger to the opponents. On the tenth day the challengers started, men, women, and children, taking their effigies, dance costumes, and all the property they could afford to bet on the game. They planned to arrive at their opponent's village on the day before the games and to camp outside it. From this final camping place they sent into the village two messengers in war array. All accounts heard assumed the use of the horse and of the lance, and even called this formal challenge by a Hispanicized term which sounds like "harlequinade." [1]

The messengers had their faces painted black, as did warriors and the announcers for the drinking ceremony. "Black means madness or dizziness."(9) One was on horseback, carrying a lance, his other clothing being the most elaborate he had. The other, also with black face, was on foot. They presented themselves at the race track, where the man on horseback stood up in his stirrups and delivered his message. The villagers, who had gathered to receive

[1] Although the challenge was in the form of play, it seems probable that it symbolized the real hostility and fear once felt by the contesting groups. If they belonged to different dialect divisions, this might be the only occasion when they met, and they surrounded it with formalities.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

village marched singing into the camp of their opponents. They went straight to the dance ground, which they circled once counterclockwise, shouting. Then they took their places on the side of the plaza, which corresponded to the direction from which they had come, while their hosts sat at the opposite side.

Before the actual skipping dance there was a preliminary performance called *tá'iwuñi* (jumping out), a ceremonial of challenge. The performer was a man called *kúata'k* (ant). The right half of his face was painted red, and the left black, while his arms and legs were red with white spots representing seeds. He wore a short kilt and carried a basket drum. In each hand he also carried an eagle wing-feather.

This man rushed in from the direction from which the challengers had come and hurled down his basket drum. Four singers appeared. One thumped the drum violently; and the other sang, while the "ant" stood in front of them, waving his feathers. After the song, the performers leaped up and rushed out, shouting. Four men, waiting with a blanket, received the "ant" into it, so that he seemed to disappear. Thus, he was escorted to the next point on the compass, in a counterclockwise direction, when he and the singers rushed in again, and the performance was repeated. This they did for all four points of the compass.

A more recent version of this prelude calls the performer merely "he who jumps out" and states that his face and body are painted white. He dances, accompanied by singers with one basket drum and four rattles. The song is sung four times at each point of the compass: twice tapping the basket, with rattles horizontal; twice scraping, with rattles vertical.

JUMPING OUT SONG

3. Longing to see the world,
Far, far yonder did I run.
Over there at the fields of the Hollow Place,
Far over there, did I rush out.(26)

The song was sung at the Hollow Place (San Xavier), but any other name might be inserted.

After this preliminary ceremony, the game leaders of the two

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

the wise man might simply attain his position by the exhibition of good judgment. "If he showed sense, they would listen to him" (8). This is the standard exploit in tales of the orphan boy, who makes a good suggestion in meeting before he is considered old enough to speak. The important factors would seem to have been a man's practical sense and knowledge of traditions.

In the summer village the meeting was held in the Big House: in camp it was in a brush enclosure, or even a cleared space on the ground. The Keeper of the Meeting or the man who was acting as such built a fire in the center of the place to be used, called the people or had them called and sat down facing the east. (In a house or enclosure this would mean opposite the door.)

The wise men, as they arrived, took their places around the fire and the listeners behind them. The crier sat at the right of the Keeper. In villages where there was a speaker to put the leader's proposals the speaker sat at the right and the crier at the left. Some informants thought that each wise man had his allotted place which he occupied during life and which was assigned to a new wise man on his death (14). The same informant thought that the shamans, far from being excluded, had special places, at the north, south, east, and west of the circle, as they do at the drinking ceremony. At present certain prominent men are allowed by custom always to have seats near the Keeper, but there is no other formality.

Some informants thought that the Leg always sat behind the Keeper ready to be sent on errands. Another said that when the meeting was held in a roofless enclosure, the fire was put outside it so as to deceive the Apache. One man then had the duty of running to the fire to bring an ember for lighting the cigarettes. He sat behind the Keeper and was called the peg, that is, the peg with which a hide is fastened down for drying (25).

The proper demeanor in this and all other assemblies was to sit on the heels with arms folded and head bent. The hair should be tied with a thong, so that there would be no disturbing motion of raising the hand to keep it from blowing. It was highly blameworthy to show signs of drowsiness and the offender would have a lighted cigarette thrust between his toes.

The men arrived in silence and when all were seated, the ceremonial cigarette was passed. This was a six inch tube of cane or cornhusk filled, in the earliest days, with wild tobacco. The Keeper lit this or had it lit by an assistant and puffed ceremonially with an invocation, "Now do I breathe out. It will reach you. You will send a benefit" (14). Or, "May he bless me, give me life and lead me along a good road." The power originally referred to was thought

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

They might also decide to invite several partner villages to join them and messengers would be sent out, running. The plan was always to fix a rendezvous somewhere near the boundaries of Papago country. This was generally at the base of the mountains to the east. "The Apaches never came down from the mountains except to raid. The mountains were their country. When they were escaping, they always ran straight up hill." (19) If the need were immediate, the meeting might be fixed for the next night. Otherwise the conventional interval was ten days. The messengers were given ten sticks to deliver. The Keeper at the partner village was to stand these up in the floor of the Big House and to lay one down each day. When they were all down, his war party started. The ritual speech made before the start has the title "Sticks Laid Down".

In the ten day interval the warriors exercised and prepared their equipment. They carried shield and club or bow and arrows as they chose. Specialization in one or the other form of fighting was a permanent arrangement, only a few of the bravest using shield and club, which meant close-in fighting. Archers put a new string on the bow and carried another string in the quiver. They carried three hundred arrows, stone-tipped if possible, but a few wooden ones might be used to fill out the number. Every man took two pairs of sandals. Many wore headdresses in any form that suited them and these were repaired and made by the warrior himself.

When equipped, the warrior had his quiver slung over the right shoulder, so that it hung with the opening at the left, just at the waist. His bow he carried in his left hand and while fighting he would have several arrows in this hand also. His other baggage hung from the thong around his waist that held the breechclout. Even if he were not a club fighter, he might carry a club to finish the enemy. This was hung directly at the back. At the right he had a pouch, containing cornmeal which, mixed with water, would be his only food. In the same pouch might be a smaller one for tobacco and cornhusks or reed tubes for cigarettes. Another small pouch contained black and white paints. A half gourd, to serve as mixing bowl and drinking cup was slung from his belt by a thong. Some warriors distributed these various possessions in several pouches elaborately made of fox or other animal skin with the fur on

The warrior's hair was clubbed in a knot at the back of his neck. He wore one of several sorts of headdress or possibly none at all. His face according to some informants, was painted black from the start (9), and after killing an enemy, the lower part was white. According to others, it was not painted at all until he had killed

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

714 302 [822] an enemy and then all black (19, 26). Black paint was considered symbolic of dizziness and drunkenness and therefore of war. One of the chants says:

"My desire was the black madness of war.
I ground it to powder and therewith I painted my face.
My desire was the black dizziness of war.
I tore it to shreds and therewith tied my hair in a war knot."

701 726 When the war parties started out, each had a leader, either permanent or appointed temporarily by the council. The oldest and most experienced of these leaders would take charge of the combined expedition. There would be at least one crier who could make the announcements in camp, or one would be appointed by the leader.

726 756 787 Each village if possible brought a shaman to "see" the enemy and to recite spells to disable him. These shamans were of a particular class, the "owl meeters", who had owls for their guardian spirits. The dead are supposed to fly back from the east, where they live, in the form of owls. Dead Papago warriors, in owl form, haunted the enemy country where they died and with these the shaman communed.

The parties from the partner villages met at night at the rendezvous and went through a series of ceremonies. During these, it was the duty of the shaman to retire and to practise divination which would tell where the enemy might be encountered. If there were several shamans, they all worked together.

"Once the men from several villages met for a war party at Basket Cap mountain. At night they sat and sang the war songs, facing the country of the enemy. All that time the shaman sat apart, on a little knoll. When the singing was over, the leader asked the shaman, "Can you give us news?"

The shaman said, "I think there is one here who will help me." Then he went back to the knoll and the men heard the hoot of an owl. Soon the shaman came back to them. He said, "Has anyone here some of the old tobacco we used to use?"

One man had, so he gave it to the shaman. The shaman went away and the men watching could see that he lit two cigarettes. They could see their red tips moving as you see cigarettes that are held by two people. Then they saw one of them thrown away. The shaman came back, holding the other. He said, "The enemy are at Smooth Ground. We'll come up with them at noon tomorrow."

So they did and they killed many Apaches. If it had not been true, perhaps they would have killed the shaman." (19)

The war leader also sent out scouts and continued to do so as they advanced into the enemy country. They travelled by night and

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

525 track. Each side had six officials, three at each end. One had charge of the runners and decided when they should take their turns. In cases where the whole village ran, he had to grade the men according to their capacity. If his side was short of runners, he decided which ones should run twice or three times. The second man pushed the runner off when it was his turn; using a stick of cactus rib, which he held horizontally in both hands. The third took charge of the incoming runner and saw that he passed the outgoing one before the latter started. Failure to do this constituted a foul and his side lost the race. The same penalty held if one side started off a runner from the opposite side instead of one of its own. If a runner was disabled during the first lap, the race started over again: if during subsequent laps, the victory went to the opposite side.

The race was won when one side got a lap ahead. To measure this, two markers stood in the middle of the track, each holding a stake, which was to mark the point where the two runners passed each other. For the first lap this would be in the middle of the track. As one side gained, they would pass on alternate laps, first nearer to one end, then nearer to the other. A stake was placed at each of these points. It was called the moving line. As one side gained, these stakes would move further and further apart until they measured a gain of half a lap, when they would begin to move together again. When they met, the race was over.

525 Runners were barefoot. Men wore only a breechclout, girls tied
302 the ends of front and back aprons together so that they formed a very short skirt above the knee. Men tied their hair in a knot as for war and also bound it with a thong; girls matted it over the crown of the head and tied the whole mass with thongs. For big races the upper part of the runner's body was painted with some large, distinguishing mark in white clay which would identify him to his side. This was done by the man in charge of the runners, who called their turns. The marks remembered were horizontal stripes for one side, vertical for the other, or large crosses, large spots. They were decided on by the markers from each side and had no symbolism.

ATHLETIC CONTESTS
(for women)

525 Women ran relay races just as men did, but over a shorter course. They did not try long distance racing or kickball but they played double ball.

tohka (double ball.) The "ball" was usually two bits of cactus rib, three inches long and an inch and a half in diameter, tied together

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

freely and obscenely with married men and the words they used in semi-joking invitation were used by the men as nicknames. Very few adult men are called, in daily life, by the name given them by the shaman, but rather by one of these terms. Such temporary liberties did not constitute grounds for complaint on the part of a spouse. It was only when husband or wife left home with a lover that there was serious difficulty.

There was a class of women who assumed a married woman's privileges of free language and contacts with men, without any of her duties. This same class, which closely resembles that of the prostitute, is found among the Pimas and called by a name which means "playful" or light woman. If it has been adopted under European influence, it has at least become thoroughly assimilated to the Papago and Pima pattern, for it lacks both the obloquy and the element of pay present in the European institution. The Papago tradition is that the playful women were called out long ago by a youth who played the flute and drove them mad.

The playful women were always in festal array. Their clothing was the double apron or a strip of cotton cloth wound around as a skirt. They painted their bodies, legs and feet, by smearing them with red or white clay and then making patterns with the wet finger tip. They made lines under their eyes with the black specular iron which the men used in war and called "dizziness". On their cheeks they might have vertical marks of red clay. Their hair was well combed and they wore a fillet of hair around the forehead with a bit of eagle down stuck upright.[1]

So arrayed, the light women would go all together to the girl's puberty dances or to the big drinking ceremonies, where married women appeared only with their husbands and young girls not at all. The playful woman would form a temporary union with some man with whom she would visit several drinking ceremonies or dance through the whole month of puberty dances. At such festivities, food was supplied to everyone and her mate need not necessarily support her. She might follow him on a trading expedition, when he would care for her or occasionally she would go home with him and become one of his wives. In that case the other wives would not object, unless she were too lazy. But she generally left him again to attend a new festivity.

Between affairs she would go back to her father's house. Parents made no attempt to control a daughter, if she seemed inclined to

[1] That this type of woman was not a Spanish importation is indicated by two mentions of "prostitutes" in Sahagun: Seler, Neunter Abschnitt, b, 7, p. 366 and Jourdanet et Simon, Livre X, chap. XV, p. 616.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

flimsy affair and this destruction was probably an aid to sanitation. 768
But the four mesquite posts of the frame work were hard to come by so they were generally moved and a new house built around them. There are traditions of bereaved families who threw away all their property or burned it, after the Mohave fashion, but most people denied this. "We couldn't have lived. We were too poor" (11). But if there had been many deaths in succession, the family left everything but what they could carry on their backs and went to seek asylum with distant relatives. It was thought better to leave the fields to others while they were so ghost ridden.

Women, in mourning, cut their hair to the neck, men to the 301
shoulders. Hair should be buried at a distance, out of reach of 302
animals but since it was such valuable property, there were some 765
who ventured to use it for hair ropes. Used in a carrying basket, [777]
one old woman stated, it even brought luck. Those who had not lost a spouse wailed for the ritual four days and then went about their occupations but widows and widowers must mourn longer. A widow, in the very ancient times, wore nothing but a breechclout and went unpainted for a year, after which she might marry again. A widower went unpainted and his period of mourning was thought by most to be a year but one man said he could marry after four days. "A woman could work and take care of herself for a year, but a man needed some one to work for him" (1).

If the husband had died, the wife might marry one of his younger 768
siblings but otherwise she went back to her family group. Very young children who needed her care, she would take with her, but older ones would be left to be brought up in her husband's group, probably by his mother. An elderly widow often remained in the adopted group, with her sons to support her. But there is one example of such a woman who returned, with all her grown sons, because her home field was better (I. 1. A 3). At the end of the mourning period, if she were of marriageable age, her family found her another husband. Children of her first husband were likely to be sent back to his family group, but if that was inconvenient, they stayed with her parents. She rarely took them into the new home.

If the wife died, the children remained in the husband's group, cared for by his mother or one of his brothers' wives. If he had been satisfactory, he might be given one of the wife's classificatory younger sisters. Otherwise he took a new wife and the children of the former one remained with his mother.

The souls of the dead went to the east, escorted by their ancestors, 775
who came for the dying man in the shape of owls. This was true whether they had died of illness or of enemy wounds. The soul

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

how hungry you are. Wait till it has scum on it. So you will be a runner and not a fat man."

When we had finished we did not wash the dishes. How could we, with no water! We scooped food out with our knuckles. The boys used two knuckles because men have time to eat. We girls used three because women must hurry and work. When we were through it was only my father who could wipe his fingers between his toes. That was because he was a warrior and had killed enemies. The rest of us wiped them on the ground and rubbed our hands together. I do not like water on my dishes even now. They feel so smooth.

Then we made our toilet. We washed our faces in a little cold water, but we did not bathe. Rubbing yourself with earth does just as well. Then the older girls painted themselves with beautiful red paint, all in dots and splashes. I went out to play.

I played with the boys and girls who were children of my uncles. Brothers and sisters, we call them. We had no clothes, any of us, but we were not cold. We went to a sunny place and made ourselves dolls of mesquite leaves tied with strings of corn husk for arms and legs and head. We had a little stone for the grinding slab and some sand for the corn. The boys had men dolls and they would take them away and say: "We go hunting." "Well, go," said the wives. Then the boys would hunt all around the village and find a deer bone. "Here is a deer for you."

Sometimes the boys went to get rats. They poked them out of the holes and hit them with sticks. Then we roasted them on sticks with the skins on. Good food, that used to be!

Sometimes we went to run races. We had a good racetrack in our village. Our men had cleared a road that ran across the flat land as far as you could see, and every day they swept it with greasewood branches to keep off the thorns. They had a song:

The hawk made the race-track
And on it we won
A-a-ah!

We ran with the hawk
And won a Hawk's heart
A-a-ah!

All our young men and girls practised on that racetrack so they could run fast against the other villages. We children ran, too. Every day I ran until I was ten years old and had to be doing the house work.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

told the gopher to gnaw their arrows. And I know that they called on our dead warriors who have turned into owls and live in the Apache country to come and tell them where the enemy were. Facing the enemy they sat, while they sang, that they might bring darkness upon him. 159x 533 726

All that time the medicine man sat alone on a little hill waiting for the owl-dead to come to him. He had dreamed of owls himself and so he could speak with them. They always took an Owl-Meeter on to war with them to call the dead who are our spies. 159x 787 726

Soon that medicine man came back to the others and said: "Has anyone some of our old, wild tobacco?" They gave him some. Then he went back and they saw lights when he made two cigarettes. They saw those lights move as cigarettes do when two people are smoking. They heard the medicine man talking, very low, and then they saw both cigarettes thrown away. The medicine man came back and said: "The enemy are at Smooth Ground. We will come up with them at noon tomorrow."

So they did. They jumped on the enemy and fought. When our men go toward an Apache, they do not just walk. They leap. My father got separated from the others, he and one Apache. There was a giant cactus between them. You know a cactus trunk is as wide as a thin man. Each shot at the other, and the other dodged behind the cactus till it was stuck full of arrows to the height of a man. 159x 726

They could both talk a little Spanish, so they shouted at each other. The Apache said: "I am a *man*." My father: "I, also, a *man*!" They threw down their bows and arrows and started wrestling. My father was down. Far away, his brother saw that and came running. He clubbed the Apache from behind. My father got up and clubbed, too. So he was dead and my father and his brother were Enemy Slayers.

They stopped fighting right away because an enemy's death lets power loose. You must take care of yourself until you have tamed that power or it will kill you. You could not stand against arrows with such power around you. You would be like a sick man. You would fall. So they painted their faces black to show what had happened. They carried black paint for that in little deerskin bags. They stood away from the others, and other men who had killed came to join them. 159x 727 793 [302]

The leader of the fight saw and he sent an old man who had killed, himself, so that he was not in danger. That man kept them away from the other men the way you keep away people who have a sickness. He made them walk behind the others and camp away from them all the way home. They never mixed their cornmeal for themselves. He mixed it for them—oh, so very little! Brave men do not want to eat when they are getting

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

thing goes by fours with our people, and Elder Brother arranged it that even this thing should be the same. No woman has trouble for more than four days. Then they gave me a bath just as they did to my father. Oh, it was cold in the winter time! I tell the girls who come of age in the summer they do not know what hardship is. The water even feels nice in summer.

My mother came in the dark of the morning with the water in a big new jar. The women had to run all day to get that water ready for me. I tried to get away, but my mother caught me and made me kneel down. Then she dipped a gourd in the jar and poured that cold water down over my forehead.

Hail!
I shall pour this over you.
You will be one who endures cold.
You will think nothing of it.

It is true, I have never felt cold.

Then my mother washed my hair with soapweed fibres. That is the way women should always wash their hair and it will never grow gray. She cut it so it came just to my shoulders, for we women cannot have hair as long as the men; it would get in our way when we work. But we like to have it thick and shiny, and we know that everybody is noticing. There was quite a lapful that my mother cut off, and she saved it to make hair ropes for our carrying baskets. She had new clothes for me; two pieces of unbleached muslin, tied around my waist with a string. We did not know how to sew in those days. We pinned them together over our hips with bought pins, but it was very modest.

Then I could go back to our house, only still I had to use the stick for four days and I could not eat salt. And then they danced me. All that month they danced me, until the moon got back to the place where it had been at first. It is a big time when a girl comes of age; a happy time. All the people in the village knew that I had been to the Little House for the first time, so they come to our house and the singer for the maidens came first of all.

That singer was the Chief's Leg, the man I told you about. He knew all the songs, the ones that Elder Brother first sang when he used to go over the country, dancing all the maidens. That Leg was the man who danced every maiden in our village when she came of age. His wife danced opposite him. She was the one who was to get the hair that my mother had cut off. He had another wife, too, but not such a good dancer.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

(4)

533X

A cloud on top of Evergreen Trees Mountain is singing,
A cloud on top of Evergreen Trees Mountain is standing still,
It is raining and thundering up there,
It is raining here,
Under the mountain the corn tassels are shaking,
Under the mountain the horns [50] of the child corn are glistening.

The persons taking part in the ceremony were: (1) The leaders (*Colwada*); (2) clowns (*Navico*); (3) dancers and singers; (4) certain singers who "started new songs" (*Kokspakam*); (5) one or two boys and the same number of girls (*Hakiwata*), and a young man stationed near them who sang special songs. The leaders (number not stated) had their faces painted half one color and half another, either horizontally or vertically divided. The clowns were painted in any grotesque manner they fancied. Each wore a feather headdress and a long tunic, and carried a crooked bow and arrow, also a pair of eagle feathers tied together, such as a doctor carries and uses when treating the sick. The latter insignia was not burlesque, as it was believed that any of these persons could benefit, if not cure, the sick. The office of clown was hereditary and there were usually one or more of them in each village. The dancers were also the singers and usually numbered about 40 or 50. They were the sons of singers and their performance was obligatory. The songs had been taught them by the old people whom they succeeded. They wore no clothing except the breechcloth, even sandals being forbidden, and their bodies were painted white, yellow, or red in solid color, no black being used in this ceremony. Men with "bull roarers" were important to the conducting of the ceremony, as they gave signals for assembling and for other events. A bull roarer consisted of a blade of cactus connected with a handle of greasewood by means of a cord about 3 feet in length. Holding the handle, a man swung the blade through the air. The specimen illustrated (pl. 15, *c*) is about the average size and has a blade 14 inches long. In former times the cord was made of the fiber of a plant called *aŏñta*. The blade was painted in any solid color.[51] Lumholtz states that the blade was painted with designs to represent corn. This instrument was one of the ceremonial articles that were kept from year to year.

796

[302]

[534]

The ceremony was held at Arci, as already stated, and the people from each visiting village camped by themselves. The signal for assembling was given by the men with bull roarers, 60 or more of these being in use by the time the people entered the inclosure. The sound as they were swung through the air was said to be like thunder and "sounds in the clouds." If a man were accidentally hit by one

[50] This refers to the slender spikes or sprouts at the top of the stalks of young corn.
[51] Cf. Handbook of American Indians, pt. 1, pp. 170-171.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

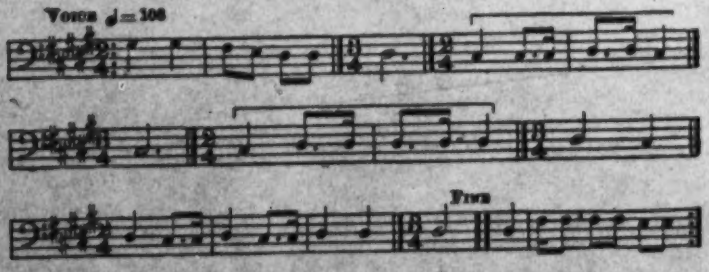
its significance and physical suffering. The two rhythmic units begin with the same count divisions. It is interesting to note that the seventh measure reverses the count divisions in the second rhythmic unit. The connective phrase shows a triplet on an unaccented count, this count division occurring on an accented count in the song.

The men who had taken care of the warriors then conducted them to a clear cold pond, breaking the ice if necessary. The men took a cold plunge, after which each man went to his own lodge, taking his spirit basket with him. It was kept in a safe place and frequently was placed in an olla. The responsibility incident to the possession of a spirit basket has been described on page 103. The *Limo* continued three more days. If the warriors who had killed Apache desired to attend these dances they wore no decorations except a horizontal line of black paint below each eye. Presents were given at these dances. The scalps that had been carried in the victory dances were taken to other villages and carried in one dance after another. Finally they were given to the warriors, who kept them.

A dance that was performed in one of the circles during the Limo was called the Wind dance. Four of its songs were recorded and are as follows.

No. 144. "I Am Going to Another Part of Elder Brother's Land"
(Catalogue No. 927)

Recorded by SIVARIANO GARCIA



TRANSLATION

I am going to another part of Elder Brother's land,
I have reached the land,
With a handsome child (captive) I am returning.

Analysis.—The keynote of this song occurs only as the first tone and is also the highest tone of the compass. This is unique among Indian songs analyzed by the writer. The subdominant is a particularly prominent tone. Attention is directed to the third and fourth measures from the close which reverse the count divisions of the rhythmic unit.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

breech cloth around the loins, but this is getting to be an extremely rare sight, and it must be confessed that the ready-made blue overalls of the white laboring man of the West, the colored shirt, a picturesque neckerchief, and gray felt hat with straight brim are quite becoming to the young bucks with their superb, lithe, and supple figures, with somewhat narrow hips. No man wears his hair long any more, but tattooing marks in the face are still seen on men and women of the former generation in the Santa Rosa valley, where ancient customs and beliefs have been preserved longer than anywhere else. In this extensive valley are also found the most important rancherias.

I was glad to have visited these Indians while there was still something of the ancient atmosphere left in the more remote parts of the Papagueria. The fact is that these decided changes in the conditions of the Papago have come about comparatively recently, perhaps during the last thirty or forty years. As Mr. Bandelier, the great authority on the history of the South-west, truly says, the ethnography of Arizona has not changed much since the year 1600. The Apaches by their raids altered tribal relations, but the change that most concerns us here is due to the settling of the country since its annexation by the United States, and in Sonora to the discovery of gold. Though possibly originating in a less arid region, the Papagoes, in relation to their environment, ought to be a no less interesting study than the country itself.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

285 The lady of the house had in active use two of those
482 peculiar burden baskets called *kíbo*, in which the women carry on their backs loads of wood, gourds, or pottery, as the case may be. It consists of an attractive looking net-work of mescal fibre, which has been produced from the leaves after they have been first boiled. The net is attached to a hoop which is fastened between four long poles of sahuaro ribs and is supported by a woven band of strips of zotol leaves that passes over the forehead. This contrivance is getting to be rare in the Papago country, with the introduction of mules and horses, and the woman who owns one is with difficulty induced to sell it. She spends considerable time in its manufacture, and in an old-fashioned family like the present it is of very great usefulness in every-day life. The black twine was from
302 her children's hair, which she cut once a year until they were about twelve years old. I expressed an ardent desire to buy one that was standing outside of the house against the wall, and, after having thought the matter over for a couple of hours, she decided to sell the most used one for five dollars, though she hated to do so; for an additional fifty cents she would mend the net-work and put in a new plaited band for the back and the head. The offer was promptly accepted.

361 Pablo and I made a tour of the houses of the ran-
124 cheria, some of them being three-quarters of a mile away. In two of them we found only old deaf women at home, the rest of the families being at the harvest of the savory cactus fruit. On our return, toward sunset, our Indian
573 friend and little Marianita were busily engaged in wash-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

have done credit to any stage. It was a busy morning, and when the crowd saw us getting ready to eat our belated breakfast, they considerately said, "Let us retire that they may eat." Pablo and I seated ourselves near the fire, and it was a small matter that the rice had been burned during the activities of the morning.

After a while, we had them all back again. The implements used in a woman's game were offered for sale. They comprised a small object, consisting of two short, thick sticks from the cat-claw tree, linked together in the middle by a twisted leather string. This *óla*, as they call it, has to be thrown with a thin pole, slightly curved at the point, and the movement must be made by applying the point between the two connecting sticks and then casting it upward. The game consists in throwing the object so as to reach a certain goal, the opposing party trying to prevent it. At my request, the woman with the imitative gift induced four young girls to show me how the game was played, and they immediately prepared for the fray. The colored bandannas were disengaged from around the head and tied around the hips. The uncovering disclosed beautiful black hair, well-groomed *à la méxicaine*, parted in the middle, and hanging in two generous braids down the back. The next minute they all spat in their hands and smoothed their hair, then the game started. The girls played two against two. The óla was first thrown up in the air, the players standing ready opposite each other. The tactics of the opponents was to run with their backs turned against the others and strike the disputed ob-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

412
301
304
415
342
756
293
492
302

[Facing p. 110]

PAPAGO ETHNOLOGY

a. Medicine man's plume; length, 60 ctm. b. Wooden tweezers used in pulling off certain cactus fruit; length, 38 ctm. c. Tattooing marks on woman. d, i. Front (diam. 44 ctm.) and back (diam. 44 ctm.) of cowhide shield used in Apache sham battles. e. Wooden spur, attached to one (right) foot; length, 16 ctm. f. Wooden implement, found at a tomb; length, 22 ctm. g. hair-brush of fibre; length, 15 ctm. h. Door to grass hut; at present made from wheat straw; height, 98 ctm. k, l. Bags of fibrous matter, caused by woodpeckers' work in the sahuaro; serve as canteens and cups; height of the smaller one, 17 ctm. m. Bird, made from yucca root and painted blue; carried upright at the Santa Rosa feast; length of bird, 8 ctm.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

seemed able to live here. The prevalent vegetation was, as usual, greasewood with salt bushes now and then. Low sand dunes were visible here and there.

The Pimas of Kohatk I found to be good-tempered, affable people. The women cut their hair in front so as to have bangs and they are good-looking. These natives seem to be somewhat under Roman Catholic influence and have abandoned their native feasts. Photographing was as much detested here as elsewhere. The sight of my camera would make the children take to the woods and the old men hurriedly disappear on hands and knees into their dome-shaped huts.

I heard neither English nor Spanish spoken, but the inhabitants have adopted the frontier man's way of living, frying their meat in lard and adding quantities of it to their beans. They buy white flour and make unwholesome tortillas in boiling lard. This heavy, poorly cooked food forms their daily regime, without any variety. A small bucketful of coffee is distributed at meal-time both in the middle of the day and in the evening. They possess cattle but, like most white ranchers, are too lazy to milk the cows. The meals are appropriately served on plates of cheap crockery and cups bought in the white man's stores. The participants give audible evidence of consuming more lard than is good for them, and, were the facts known, "to be as dyspeptic as a civilized Indian" would be an adage. Think of the anomaly of leaving wholesome, natural, well-cooked dishes for a diet of lard and the cheapest kinds of canned goods.

Contrary to the universally accepted opinion, the cui-

[i.e., in the country between Awkam and Kohatk.—Au.]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

302 The men frequently have slight moustaches. At [42] present the men all have their hair cut short, but a lux- [832] uriant growth was formerly considered a standard of beauty. It was occasionally washed with an infusion [824] from the roots of a vine called *ádofi*. Sometimes these [751] natives would plaster the head with clay, to kill parasites and ensure a better growth of hair. The women still take great care of this ornament to their persons and are often seen brushing it with brushes made from the roots of sacaton grass. With the children, it is cut so that it may grow strong, and the cut hair is twisted into a cord which is used in tying together parts of the burden basket as well as in the tying of the saddle-bag. Formerly the custom was to leave the children's hair long on top of the head, back of the neck, and in front [149] of each ear. I saw a left-handed man and a left-handed woman in the tribe. If it be permissible to draw any [513] general conclusions from the sound sleep of my companion, Pablo, these natives sleep unusually soundly. One morning, while he was with me, he woke up several yards below his bedding, having rolled down a declivity [264] during the night in his sleep. The Papago avoid eating food hot from the fire.

157 They possess much force and stability of character, are quick of perception, loyal to the white man that they like, and if in danger do not cry for help. Under her natural bashfulness the woman hides sterling qualities of efficiency in household work, constancy, and faithful adherence to duty. These Indians are industrious and have a remarkably even temper; thirty children

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

All the dancers carried quivers of arrows, the quivers being made of canvas, painted red or left natural color, or of skins. At least one quiver was made of the entire skin of a kit fox. These quivers were fastened across the small of the back at an angle, open end up and to the dancer's right. Many quivers were fringed. 796 292 411

Two or more men carried imitation powderhorns of cowhorn, in one case carried slung over the left shoulder and resting on the right hip, in the other, tied to the belt on the right side.

The dancers' arms and legs were bare, though a few men had shirt sleeves and Levi legs rolled up and showing beneath the tunic. Legs and arms were painted with what seemed to be white clay, decorated with groups of short vertical lines, done both in red paint and by scraping off the clay. 292 796 [302]

On the left wrist the dancers wore ornaments of skin, canvas, or of both. One wore the entire skin of a ringtailed cat wrapped around his wrist, the tail dangling. Other wrist decorations were made by wrapping the end of a long strip of material, two to four inches wide, once about the wrist, letting the end dangle a foot or more. These were often fringed, or had plumes tied to them, and were painted in colors. Many were red with white geometric patterns; one was yellow with diagonal green lines. [301]

Each dancer carried a wooden arrow, fletched with turkey feathers, the point carved out the wooden shaft, or carried a wooden wand or lance, in the left hand. These were red, with white banding. In the right hand most carried a bow made of grotesquely twisted wood. These bows ranged from two to two and one half feet long, and were also painted red with white banding. A few men carried wooden guns, one being made of a twinned saguaro rib, the butt representing the stock, and the ribs the barrels of a double barrelled shotgun. One or two men carried cheap commercial popguns. Several men with guns carried arrows in their left hands, though others carried wands and used them as ramrods. 293 796

Legs were bare from knee down, and the dancers wore anklets of black leather or of black cloth on which were sewed one or more rows of cocoons, fastened by one end. One dancer's anklets were solidly covered with cocoons, as if he had strung them and wrapped the string spirally about his ankle. All dancers wore sandals, of leather soles tied on with thongs. In some cases cocoons were sewn to the ankle binding, on the outside. 292 796

The chorus was made up of both men and boys, and each member carried ceremonial objects in both hands. All but two were bare headed, and wore halves of gourds bound over their faces. These gourds were decorated with horizontal zones of color, consisting of a blue band one and one-half or two inches wide at eye level, a red zone, extending 796 292 531

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

one which was to march out with the dancers, and one which was to remain inside. Singing began, the same song as that sung during the night, and one chorus, of about fifteen singers, in elaborate costume, emerged from the enclosure and, preceded by the herd of dancers, marched to the dance floor. This chorus sang independently of the chorus inside. 796

Meanwhile, from somewhere came two score or more of men, all in army overcoats, who lined up against the west side of the enclosure outside, some standing, some sitting, as though they were privileged persons occupying reserved seats.

796
The chorus carried, the first time, the triangular forms of cotton, 292
representing, we were told, clouds, the brown zigzag lines signifying [821]
lightning. The costumes of the chorus were, in the main, as follows. [531]
Each man or boy, most were in their teens, was stripped to the waist, with bare legs and feet. They wore skirts brilliantly colored, both of cotton and of rayon, reaching to the knees. Many of these skirts had had panels in contrasting colors sewn to them, and one in particular had a vertical red panel on the left side of a blue skirt, with the four playing card symbols appliqued on it in blue. Several had Christmas tree decorations, tinsel, glass balls, etc., sewn to their skirts. Each chorister had, stuck in his belt behind, a pair of bull roarer sticks, nearly all of which were red, with white decoration. They all wore anklets of black material with cocoons sewn to them.

From the waist up the choristers were painted red, spotted all over [302]
with inch wide circular daubs of white clay. About their necks all wore bright silk rodeo neckerchiefs. One boy wore a mirror strapped across his chest with bright ribbons. Several boys wore strands of Christmas tinsel, like crossed bandoliers, over their shoulders. All wore the gourd masks, with the exception of the two little boys who wore the sacklike masks described above. These boys also wore skirts.

At the head of the chorus, which marched in single file except when several had to help carry floats, the two little boys trotting alongside near the head of the column, was a leader. This leader, a middle-aged man, was clad in a plain white tunic, belted at the waist and reaching to the knees. His legs were painted white, and he wore sandals; his arms were bare and painted white, his hands were black. About his head he wore a white band in which on the left side was stuck a long tail feather of hawk or eagle. The upper half of his face was painted black, and the lower half smeared with white.

This leader carried in the crook of his left arm a deep tray basket 796
of Pima manufacture, about 18" in diameter, painted white and black in- 293
side and out in alternate eighths. In the basket was white meal, which 285
held in place four sectors of short, dark turkey feathers, lying against the inside of the basket.

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

252 Cooking was done in a small roofless enclosure out-
412 side. There the woman kept her mealing slab—a rectangu-
415 lar block of granite hacked into shape with another stone. She had a mortar made of a section of cottonwood log, a large porous jar for drinking water, and a few smaller pots for cooking. Most of her utensils were baskets, for this migratory people found pottery a burden. There were large willow baskets for storage, others for winnowing, for parching seeds, and for eating and drinking. Willow baskets, tightly woven and water-tight when wet, took the place of dishes. Some households owned no pottery except the water-jar.

291 Clothing, in the older times, was of skins, the man
302 wearing a breechcloth of buckskin, the woman a buckskin skirt, while those who could trade for cotton had a one-piece, wrap-around cotton skirt. Both sexes wore their hair long but tied it up with a strand of grass while at work. For warmth they often covered their bodies with grease, and on ceremonial occasions added to the grease
[304] red and white paint. Women were tattooed with four lines from mouth to chin, in zigzags, dots, or merely straight lines.

291 The Papagos were a sandal-wearing people. For long journeys they made sandals, first of basketry materials and later of cowhide, but while at home they went barefoot. Occasionally we hear of the rabbit skin blanket which was so long known among their neighbors both of Arizona and California.

412 Papago women, busy with basketry, pottery, and the gathering of wild foods, did little work at agriculture, so the men took care of the fields and did the hunting. They also had to make frequent war expeditions to pursue marauding Apaches who raided their villages to take away crops, women, and later cattle and horses. Men also made trading expeditions to the Pimas and into Mexico. As a
525 means of acquiring wealth in these primitive times gam-
556 bling should not be overlooked, for success in the ancient

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

241 the buckskin lacing. Another type of sandal is described as made of two thicknesses of deerskin dyed red and bound to-
[554] gether at the edge with white deerskin. The "rich" had buckskin moccasins to the knee.

415 Pouches were made for carrying tobacco, paints and
281 fetishes, the simplest being a round piece of dressed buck-
skin fringed all around the edge and tied up with a thong.
[286 All those made at present are of dyed buckskin (colored red
329] with dye from the root of *Krameria glandulosa)* made of two semi-circular pieces sewed together, with fringe around the
[284] seam and a flap fastened by a knot of thong serving as a button. Others were made of rabbit skin *(Lepus* sp.) or sometimes fox *(Vulpes fulvus)* with the fur left on.

291 No headdress was ordinarily worn, although warriors
292 had various caps and ornaments. The *siwoṭ* was a single upright plume, stuck in a headband which might be woven or be merely a deerskin thong. The *pitcpoṭ* was a row of feathers around the head like a crown thrust under a buck-skin band. A more elaborate bonnet was the *acki wonam* —a buckskin cap with upright feathers sewed closely all over it with an especially high tuft on the top. There is also mention of a cap of peccary skin *(Pecari angulatus)*
[237] fitting closely to the head with upright eagle *(Aquila chrysaetos)* or hawk feathers (because they are the best fighters) sewed around its edge and a mask of buckskin hanging over the face and tied around the neck. Warriors might also tie a bunch of eagledown to the hair at the top of the head, or some long feathers to the hair at the back.

302 Men wishing to keep their hair out of their eyes tied it
284 with a deerskin thong, or for gala occasions with a woven headband of red and white cotton. For war they tied it at the back of the neck with a deerskin thong, then twisted the mass into a short club wound about with deerskin, and this was specifically called the war knot. Women always wore their hair loose except for a thong or a twist of grass tied around the forehead while working. In racing they brought the whole mass of hair up over the forehead and back again,

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

binding it with a strip of soapweed *(Yucca glauca)*. The hair was brushed with the combination brush and comb made of a bundle of aloe fibers *(Agave americana)*.

The Papago myths tell of Elder Brother wearing bright feathers, probably macaw *(Ara* sp.), and a Spanish account records:

> At San Xavier del Bac and neighboring rancherias there are many macaws which the Pimas raise because of the beautiful feathers of red and other colors, almost like those of the peacock, which they strip from these birds in the spring for their adornment (27, p. 129).

Both sexes wore necklaces and earrings and hunters particularly made handsome necklaces of deer teeth. Women were tattooed with vertical lines on the chin, a woman specialist doing the work for which she was paid a necklace or a basket of corn. Her piercing instrument was four sahuaro needles *(Carnegia gigantea)* tied in a row with a shred of yucca fiber *(Yucca glauca)*. She pinched up the skin between her forefinger and thumb and pierced it, and many patients had crooked lines because they winced. Into the holes she rubbed charcoal from a fire of creosote bush *(Covillea glutinosa)* which leaves a permanent greenish blue color. The ears of both sexes were pierced early in childhood with an ocotillo thorn *(Fouquieria splendens)*.

Paints were made from clay, charcoal, specular iron, and vegetable dyes, and since the upper part of the body was habitually naked it provided plenty of field for design. Vegetable dyes were rather rarely used and then only by women. Red dye was obtained from the root of *Krameria glandulosa* while the pollen of a reed (probably *Arundo donax)* provided a yellow dye. In daily life older men and women did not paint, but smeared deer grease over the body when necessary for warmth, as did hunters and warriors before going on an expedition.

The root of the soapweed *(Yucca glauca)* was dried, pulverized, and mixed with water to form suds for washing the hair.

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

515 the hair. The fruit of the wild pumpkin *((Cucurbita foetidissima)* is dried and grated into soapy water in modern times to bleach clothes.

302 The buds and blossoms of the catclaw *(Acacia greggii)* were dried and kept among a woman's possessions as a perfume sachet.

439
291

[302]

The Desert People buy food in the supermarkets . . . the neighboring Chinese stores.

clothes . . .

[494]

notions . . .

and ride back to camp in a truck.